

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 9.

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2d.

POWERS AND THE WAR IN SPAIN

Three Steps Toward Ending Conflict

THE first stage in the Spanish question as it affects other countries (at any rate as visualized in Whitehall) has been concluded with the acceptance "in principle" of the French plan for non-intervention by all the Powers concerned.

The next step is to be the effecting of a simple agreement by those Powers not to supply arms to either side.

If this is successful a third stage in the measures which it is hoped will curtail the civil war will be the conclusion of an agreement extending non-intervention to other than military support.

PROBLEMS OF NON-INTERVENTION

BEING informed on August 1 of certain facts concerning foreign supplies to the rebels the Government made a pressing appeal to the States most directly concerned with a view to the adoption of common rules of non-intervention.

With an eye to the march of events, and more and more convinced that competition between nations over support given either to the Spanish Republic or to the rebels would involve a most dangerous menace to peace, the Government on August 5 and 6, with the British Government's support, took a new initiative.

They submitted to all interested Powers the text of a convention laying down the precise rules which would make it possible to render common undertakings effective. Replies in principle which have reached the Government to date justify the hope of an early solution.

This extract from a communiqué issued after the French Cabinet had met on Saturday sums up the steps taken up to that time to prevent international complications resulting from the civil war in Spain. The position in more detail was as follows.

FRANCE

The main points in the draft convention referred to were:

1. No movement of war materials for Spain.
2. Postponement of existing orders from Spain for arms.
3. Information as to the steps being taken to these ends to be exchanged among the Powers.

In addition to referring to this draft convention, the Cabinet's communiqué announced that the Government had already fulfilled its provisions.

GERMANY

The British and French Governments were informed during the week-end that

1. No war materials were set to Spanish rebels;

2. None would be sent in the future;

3. The warships in Spanish waters had been instructed not to show any partiality toward the rebels.

While accepting the French proposal in principle, this is coupled with the condition that Russia also accepts.

PORTUGAL

While approving in principle, full acceptance of non-intervention, according to information given to the British Chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon on Monday, would depend on

1. Russia's taking part.
2. "Respect for the international zone of Tangier by both sides".
3. Provision being made for the alleged danger to the Portuguese dictatorship of "an extension of uncontrolled communism or anarchy in Spain".

RUSSIA

The French suggestion was approved on condition that Portugal accepts.

ITALY

Official acceptance on Thursday of last week, of the principle of the proposals was subject to the following questions:

1. Does not "moral solidarity with one of the conflicting parties—solidarity which is expressed by means of public manifestations, press campaigns, subscriptions of funds, enlistment of volunteers . . . already constitute a clamorous and dangerous intervention"?
2. Will the liability of non-intervention bind individuals as well as Governments?
3. Has France also in view "any means of supervision in regard to the observance or not of the application of the pledge of non-intervention"?

GREAT BRITAIN

"The British Government's support" referred to in the French communiqué is understood to have consisted in

sharing the anxiety as to international complications due to the sending of arms either to Government or rebels; welcoming an international agreement; suggesting that all countries concerned should be included; and asking to be kept informed.

"BUFFALOES" TASK

If there were real brotherhood great armaments would not be wanted and millions of money would not be shot away and many homes ruined said Mr. S. Harris, the Grand President of the Royal Antedeluvian Order of Buffaloes at the annual meeting which opened at Weston-super-Mare on Tuesday of last week.

Mr. Harris also said that if "Buffaloes" could spread the gospel of peace among the brethren of their order, they would help to do so in the wider world.

WILL AGREEMENT BE EFFECTIVE?

The main difficulty has been the demand of Germany and Italy that the word "non-intervention" shall include the cessation of support other than the sending of actual materials.

This concerns Russia's contribution of something like a million pounds and the private collections among members of "left" organizations in France and Great Britain for the Spanish Government's financial resources, and against propaganda broadcast from the U.S.S.R. Great Britain and, particularly, France wish to restrict the application to war materials.

It is considered in British circles that the Italian and German proposition would make the whole scheme ineffective, so that the conclusion of an agreement would be only a success on paper for the French peace effort.

Meanwhile, the rebels are reported to be offering inducements to both Italy and Germany to come to their aid. These concern mainly concessions in the Balearic Islands. But it is just this that will tend to break the Italo-German unity.

FURTHER COMPLICATIONS

For while Germany is only too anxious to get a footing in Africa (concessions in Morocco have also been suggested) and to become another Mediterranean Power, the latter in particular is one of the last things Italy, already competing with Britain, would desire.

Indications of the attitude of other countries have been given in the following incidents:

Tangier. Following protests by the rebel General Franco, the International Committee of Control on August 8 forbade Spanish Government ships to return to Tangier, though officers under General Franco's command will be allowed to use the port.

Czechoslovakia. When two Spanish royalists, reported to be "on a special mission" from the rebels to ex-King Alfonso, landed in Prague they were prevented from proceeding to Berlin by the Czech authorities, but escaped.

Holland. Permission to sell two aeroplanes to Spain was refused the Royal Dutch Air Lines by the Government, who also refused to allow them to go to a British firm.

Energy
Heroism
Brains

USE THEM FOR LIFE,
NOT DEATH

"G. L." at Eisteddfod

"GIVE to the preservation and uplifting of life the energies that are now being given to destruction" was the theme of a speech by Mr. George Lansbury to a large audience at the Eisteddfod at Fishguard last Friday afternoon.

The veteran peace leader, who was given a very enthusiastic reception, referred to the heroism of those who had come from the distressed areas to sing at the Eisteddfod, and said that while such heroism was to be found "we may rest assured that the spirit of the old people still lives."

"Only the people can save the people" declared Mr. Lansbury, and he went on to point out that the governments of the world were getting ready for universal slaughter, although everyone said that another war would mean the end of civilization.

It was sheer midsummer madness, he suggested, to make such tremendous sacrifice only to establish barbarism.

Turning to the great constructive effort which he believes to be necessary, Mr. Lansbury made an appeal to the people everywhere to follow the lead of Christ—"the greatest realist that ever lived".

He said that the people should see that the energies and brains at their disposal were devoted to betterment and not to destruction.

Scotland

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

"Unite against War" has been chosen as the slogan of the Glasgow Western Anti-War Council, and a conference will be held in the Young Scots Institute, Burgh Hall Street on August 27, at which the proposed constitution of the Council will be discussed.

Additional delegates from Scotland to the International Peace Congress in September include Mr. J. J. Stewart, Scottish Painters Secretary, who will represent the Aberdeen Trades and Labour Council.

Edinburgh will now be sending fifteen delegates to the congress, and last week the women's section of the Edinburgh Peace Council chose four delegates.

ON OTHER PAGES

News of Peace Councils	2
Austria's Place in Europe	3
International Service	4
News at a Glance	5
Arthur Wragg Cartoon	6
A Stronger League	7
Letters to the Editor	8

Peace Councils

DEMONSTRATIONS ON WAR'S ANNIVERSARY

Strong Bristol Resolution

THREE open air peace meetings were held in Bristol to mark the anniversary of the entry of Britain into the war. The speakers represented the Church, Liberal and Labour parties, Adult School, Society of Friends, Brotherhoods, Cooperative movement, and the North Somerset Peace Council.

All the speakers stressed the need for unity among the friends of peace in face of the war menace. They urged their audiences to be prepared against the flood of propaganda certain to be poured out by the Government.

The following resolution was passed unanimously at each meeting.

This meeting of Bristol citizens, assembled on the 22nd anniversary of the outbreak of the last war,

Remembering the tragedy, waste, and other futility of that war, which massacred 40,000,000 people and settled no problems,

Recalling that that war was preceded and made inevitable by a race in armaments,

Believes that the present armament race can result only in another war which, while it may serve imperial or commercial interests, would bring to men and women nothing but tragedy and death,

Condemns both the rearmament programme of the Government and also the foreign policy behind rearmament, and

Calls upon all men and women of good will, while there is time, to unite in opposition to war preparations of all kinds and to work together to promote a new international policy which should serve not imperialist ambitions, but the common needs of all people, and in which the resources of the earth should be used not for man's destruction but to free mankind from the burden of poverty and want.

The anniversary of the mobilization for war was also marked at Sheffield by a large meeting, which was made the occasion for the election of delegates to the world congress at Brussels. The peace council here has appointed four delegates.

Also on this date the Walthamstow and Leyton Peace Council arranged a demonstration. About twenty energetic members, bearing striking posters, paraded the main streets of the two districts, ending at Belmont Park Road, where an open-air meeting was held.

The speakers included Councillor Redhead, of Walthamstow, and the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P. for West Leyton, who advocated the construction of an international "protective force", coupled with a breaking down of national barriers, and the provision of equal facility of access for all nations to the sources of raw materials and to the channels of international trade.

The following are the main points in a statement of policy which is to be presented to a full delegate conference of Oxford Peace Council in the third week in September:—

1. **Menace of war.** "War is a menace alike to all peoples."

2. **Diplomacy.** "We demand that all governments place before their peoples the full text of all agreements entered into with other Powers."

3. **Aggression.** "Where the peace is threatened it is not through the inability of people to live together peacefully but because of the aggressive policies of the governments. Peace will never be secure so long as future aggression is directly encouraged by the fact that present aggression not only goes unpunished but is actually allowed to become profitable."

ARE MILITARY TATTOOS TO BE DEPRECATED?

WHAT CLERGY AND POLITICIANS SAY

WE deprecate the holding of military pageants and tattoos on the ground that, by exploiting the chivalrous and adventurous elements of military training, they convey to the general public and, above all, the children, who attend these events an entirely false and dangerous view of the conduct of modern warfare.

BY submitting copies of this resolution to a number of prominent people in local political and religious spheres, Birkenhead Youth Peace Council collected an interesting symposium of their views on the subject. Here are some of the replies received.

Lt.Col. Sandeman Allen, M.P. (Conservative, Birkenhead, West)

Although I agree with you that war is an undesirable and wicked thing I cannot agree with the conclusions you have drawn and am not prepared to support your resolution.

Mr. H. Graham White, M.P. (Labour, Birkenhead, East)

I do not hold with military pageants or any other form of military display, and, except for the fact that they are the means of raising money, I doubt if they serve any useful purpose.

I may, however, add that in the present state of world politics the matter seems to be of little or no consequence. Whether there are military pageants in this country or not will make no difference to those countries whose whole national life has become a military pageant.

What is to my mind of vital importance is that the people in this country should endeavour to fix their minds upon a policy which shall stop the drift toward war.

Mr. Alan Graham, M.P. (Conservative, Wirral)

I have duly received and note with amazement and regret the resolution deprecating military pageants and

tattoos. These remind all who see them of the bravery and self-sacrifice of those of our race who in the past were glad to have the privilege of risking their lives for the spread of the basic ideals of our British civilization all over the world, both against European tyrants or savages overseas.

A nation's true greatness depends on its readiness to respond to great causes, even at great sacrifice to itself. Such a noble ideal is embodied in every soldier, and military pageants serve to keep alive in the minds of citizens the need for practising it.

No one who, like myself, has experienced modern warfare could truthfully deny that it has its sordid side, like life itself. But no one could deny that it has too a nobler side—heroic self-sacrifice for all that is dear—a maxim which, in these soft days, children and grown-ups alike particularly need to appreciate.

Bishop of Chester

I know and respect the reasons which lead some persons of deprecate the holding of military tattoos. I do not, however, find myself able to agree with them in deprecating them. So far as my knowledge goes, they do not in any way create a false or dangerous view of the conduct of modern warfare.

Nobody is encouraged by them to think that modern warfare is anything but a completely ghastly and horrible thing; but in so far as such pageants encourage people to remember that this nation inherits a great tradition and must, under the different forms required today, not fall below the chivalry of their forefathers, they have my approval.

Bishop of Liverpool

I am unable to support your resolution deprecating military pageants and tattoos. If they succeed in exhibiting (I think the word "exploit" is unfair in this connexion) "the chivalrous and adventurous elements of military training" I think they do good.

Rev. P. B. Jenkinson (Methodist)

I share your abhorrence of military pageants and tattoos and object to everything which panders to militarism and glosses over its essential savagery.

It is utterly immoral to make a peepshow and entertainment out of the training for human butchery. The less contact young or old have with this diabolical business the better.

COOPERATORS AND PEACE

Society's Workers Study Problems

Implementing Resolution

We consecrate ourselves to the pursuit and maintenance of peace—declare our unswerving loyalty to the principles of liberty, democracy and non-profit-making economy, which, if generally applied, would restore the economic life of the world and break down the barriers to intercourse between peoples.

... express our deep concern at the spread of those conditions of anarchy which, in various guises, tend to dominate the life of nations and to segregate their interests within their national frontiers at a time when the needs of humanity and the development of economic forces demonstrate that the progress of civilization depends on universal cooperation and understanding.

PASSED as long ago as International Cooperators' Day (July 4), this resolution is not to be allowed merely to remain among the pleasant memories of a "festive occasion" (as politicians' promises are apparently intended to remain).

In the little town of Godalming, in Surrey, a small group of pacifists, anxious to spread their message, have been approaching various people to get openings. Though met in most cases by timidity, indecision, or bewilderment, when they came to the local cooperative society they were received with the enthusiasm of people "consecrated to the pursuit and maintenance of peace."

The Godalming and District Cooperative Society employs about a hundred men and women. Living at some distance from their work, they are naturally too anxious to get home at night to stay for meetings.

So the Women's Cooperative Guild has undertaken to provide tea for the employees one evening a week immediately after work so that they can stay to hear what the spokesman of the absolute pacifist point of view has to say about the way to peace, and can ask questions and discuss the matter fully.

A member of the group which is thus helping these cooperators to implement their resolution states:

It is hoped that among the staff we shall find men and women prepared to meet together for the further study of constructive peace, and these will form a little educated nucleus, who will help us to permeate our neighbourhood with the thought of peace, with the peace faith, with trust in humanity.

FRENCH AND GERMANS MEET

In English Homes

A small but valuable effort in which ordinary men and women of three countries are helping to build up peace and good will in the world is taking place in the Chislehurst district of Kent this month.

Invitations have been accepted by 25 of the ordinary people of both France and Germany to spend a fortnight in this country as the guests of English people. Writing to the "Morning Post" in the hope that, by making it known, others might be encouraged to do a similar piece of work, Sir Waldron Smithers, M.P., says:

"It may be thought that the problem of world peace is too vast to be affected by such an apparently small effort. But all great movements have had small beginnings."

The Secretary is Mr. S. G. J. Smith, West Wickham, Kent.

4. **Armaments.** Opposition to increases and to private profit in their manufacture.

5. **Minorities.** The persecution of minorities is to be condemned, if only because it "tends inevitably to weaken the friendly relations between nations."

6. **The future.** "The hope of the peoples for world peace can only be fulfilled when there is a new international outlook resulting in the relations between nations being placed upon a basis of justice and equality of rights, secured by open and honest cooperation between governments."

A draft constitution will also be presented for the approval of the conference.

NORTHERN FRIENDS' PEACE BOARD

MOTOR PEACE TOUR

Speakers: William Berry (Leeds), Charles Derring (London), and others.

Outdoor Meetings have been arranged as under:—

Monday, August 17. York, Tang Hall, Fourth Avenue, 7 p.m.
Sampsons Square, 8 p.m.

Tuesday, August 18. West Auckland, Town Green, 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, August 19. Spennymoor (near Woolworth's) 7.30.

Thursday, August 20. Dipton (opposite Red Lion Hotel), 7.30.

Friday, August 21. Annfield Plain (Blooms Ground), 7.30 p.m.

Saturday, August 22. Brough, Westmorland, 7.30 p.m.

"Within the Commonwealth of Peoples"

Austria's Place in Europe

Effect of Agreement with Germany

By Our Own Correspondent

AUSTRIA has been living through very excitable times since July 11, 1936, when the "gentlemen's Agreement" between Germany and Austria was proclaimed.

While it has given a certain feeling of security—may be a fallacious one—to the Austrian people, fearing nothing more than a Hitler-army invasion, the agreement was by no means accepted by the Austrian Nazis. This was proved on July 29 in Vienna, on the occasion of the grand reception-celebrations of the Olympic flame, which was being carried from Greece to Germany.

It was only on July 22 that all Austrian Nazis who had committed criminal acts which it would be absurd to call "political deeds", were amnestied, in virtue of the agreement. Many hundreds were released and returned to their homes.

Hardly had the amnestied men got home when they went to the Olympic festivity and there created disturbances, trying to turn this expression of internationalism and peace in terms of sport into a nationalistic affair. Several hundreds of them took part and nearly 200 had to be arrested before order was restored and the celebration could go on peaceably and in the spirit of world-wide desire for peace.

On account of this the amnesty has been rescinded for all who participated in the disturbances. For other Nazis, still serving their sentences but who were expected shortly to be free, there is for the time being no question of amnesty.

CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH

This shows, that, as far as Austria is concerned, the authorities by no means understand the "gentlemen's agreement" as giving full sway now to Nazi propaganda. On the contrary, it remains prohibited, and no infiltration of its spirit is allowed in Austrian life.

Such an attitude was also expressed by the Chancellor Dr. von Schuschnigg, at the International "Pax Romana" Congress in Klagenfurt on July 30, when he described the position of "Austria within the commonwealth of peoples" thus:

"It must be the aim of Austria to foster international connexions with all the peoples of this continent. Not only have the governments, their official representatives, to aim at mutual understanding and appreciation, but still more important is it that individuals find common ground in a common ideal and common thoughts, whatever language they speak, out of whatever earth they sprang.

"By all means we must always keep up our free, independent Austria. The upholding of peace must be the quintessence of all our strivings and concerns. In this respect we are absolutely different from all Nazis, with whom any and every compromise is totally out of the question."

These are very noble words, and surprising when coming from the mouth of a statesman. May they hold good for longer duration than we are wont to expect of the words and pledges of governments.

UNITY ON ABSOLUTE PACIFISM

Joint Organization in Belgium

AN absolute pacifist movement, known as the Rassemblement contre la Guerre (Union Against War), has been formed in Belgium with the aim of building up a united front of the various peace groups of that country.

This new joint organization is to include in its principles the following points:—

1. That there should be a repudiation of all pacts and alliances which in any way partake of a military character;
2. that Belgium should completely disarm, with or without the other nations;
3. that war should be declared illegal and should never be used as an instrument of national or international policy;
4. that the people should never cooperate with their Governments in that which concerns the preparation of war or war itself;
5. that Belgium should be declared neutral.

That this is no insignificant movement, and that it is not the hopeless task it would seem at first sight to be to unite diverse organizations on so strong a policy is shown by the fact that already it has the support of a number of important bodies.

HUNGARIANS AND THE ENGLISH

Need for Friendship

The most famous of the suspension bridges between the two halves of Budapest, designed by an Englishman, Adam Clark, is used as a symbol on the badge of a Hungarian English-speaking fellowship, of which an account, given to the "Manchester Guardian" by Mme. Marczali Ernst, of Budapest, was published in the August 7 issue of that paper.

"Our circle has been in existence for three years. It has no membership, in the narrow sense, but a hundred meetings of different kinds have been arranged by a committee," she said.

Mme. Ernst told of the hope that next year a number of English people might be able to go to Hungary to attend an Anglo-Hungarian summer school.

She feels that much of great value could be done if some English people were able to have Hungarian young people as guests in their homes in return for the hospitality which Hungarian parents would gladly give to English young people in theirs.

PORTUGUESE PACIFISTS

The existence of a dictator effectively bars the way to the organization of any war resistance movement in Portugal.

Nevertheless some small effort in this direction is possible in preparation for a time when its fruits can be reaped. Literature sent from England to a pacifist in Lisbon is translated and passed on to people who express sympathy with pacifist ideals.

A report from Lisbon states that "many will certainly join the movement in the event of official restrictions being removed and the formation of a group thus being made possible."

PEOPLES MANDATE IN AUSTRALIA

EUROPE AFRICA

Latest Figures for Adherents

LATEST news of the progress in Europe, Africa, and Australia of the Peoples Mandate to Governments to End War (of which we reported the position, last week, as it concerned mainly the Western Hemisphere) comes to PEACE NEWS from Mme. Camille Drevet, secretary of the committee for these continents.

In more than forty countries adherents have been gained numbering more than ten millions. These are distributed as follows, the numbers in brackets indicating the number of organizations which are covered in each case.

Australia	(95)	100,000
Austria	(24)	70,000
Belgium	(2)	39,800
Bulgaria		318
Czechoslovakia	(100)	816,000
Denmark	(80)	520,000
Egypt	(3)	
	(plus 182 individuals)	
Finland	(16)	72,000
France and Algeria	(30)	4,000,000
	(plus 6,000 individuals)	
Great Britain	(24)	1,300,000
Greece	(6)	
Holland	(30)	135,000
	(plus 100,000 individuals)	
Hungary		12,884
India and Ceylon	(3)	
Ireland	(1)	
New Zealand	(5)	1,640
Norway	(17)	103,055
Portugal	(1)	
	(plus 3,780 individuals)	
Sweden	(28)	1,041,411
Switzerland		62
Tunis	(11)	9,554
Yugoslavia		70,000

Among international organizations which have given their support are the International Working Women's Committee and the Bureau of the International Syndicalist Federation, which represent two million women workers.

EFFECT OF WAR IN ABYSSINIA

African Association

It was to be expected that Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia would have wide-spread repercussions in Africa. One of the first of these is the formation of the African Association.

It is an effort by the natives to band themselves together into a friendly society. Already it extends from Uganda to Zanzibar and its membership is growing rapidly.

The significance of this organization lies in the use of the word "African". The European and American have always spoken of "Africa" and "African" but those are foreign conceptions to the people of that continent. They speak of themselves as Swahilis or Hottentots or Kikuyus, and so on. Now the term "African" begins to appear among them also.

If the society grows, that may be of enormous importance. At present, it provides sick benefits, helps the needy, inculcates thrift, fights witchcraft, encourages education, and so on.

It may readily become the core of an African nationalist movement. Only the future can tell. (Nofrontier News Service.)

LEAFLETS FROM THE AIR

Woman Pilot's Flight for Peace

During the recent Democratic National Convention, Miss Laura Ingalls, the aviatrix who holds the eastward and westward cross-country, solo-flight records in the United States for both men and women, flew over the city of Philadelphia and environs for the Emergency Peace Campaign and dropped leaflets urging voters to

"Put Peace People in Power."

At the same time she released six homing pigeons with messages to President Roosevelt. At noon she was received by S. Davis Wilson, Mayor of Philadelphia.

Robert F. Leavens, who was an active Emergency Peace Campaign worker this spring in Berkeley, California, wrote recently of the formation of "a Peace Action Group, comprising approximately 70 students, meeting once a week, and getting immediately into action."

"In a comparatively short period of five weeks some noteworthy, tangible results appeared; namely,

"an out-door bulletin board for peace posters and peace news,

"a few shelves in the college library set apart for peace literature,

"regular items in the college newspaper contributed by three members of the group,

"a college assembly addressed by an off-campus speaker on the subject of peace, and

"the carrying through, on short notice, of a peace poll on the campus."

PEACE BALLOT IN CANADA

On Lines of British Effort

Toronto (NNS)—The League of Nations Society of Canada is planning a peace ballot along the lines so successful in England.

Preliminary work has been done by eleven groups of young people in British Columbia and 2,300 ballots were

FILL IN THE FORM
ON PAGE 8

returned. Of these, 94.3 per cent favoured Canadian membership in the League of Nations; 96 per cent opposed the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit; and 80 per cent favoured League action against an aggressor, not excluding military sanctions.

It will be interesting to see the results of a poll covering all of Canada.

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PEACE NEWS

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Serving all who are working for Peace

August 15, 1936.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

THIS is not only a dark time for the world at large. It is a peculiarly difficult one for the pacifist. For he has to face, in addition to the threatening war clouds, something very like hostility from his friends in the peace movement and, in view of this particular problem of Spain, from all who love democracy—but hate fascism more. The man who tries to apply to the Spanish war his vow that he will never support or take part in any war is apt to be regarded as the enemy of the very people he would fain help most.

Why? Why are those who formerly marched with him in peace processions, who cheered George Lansbury, who even went to such extravagances as to call pacifists "the salt of the earth" and "the guardians of the heart and core of our movement"—why are they now treating the pacifist as pro-fascist, exactly as he was treated as pro-German 22 years ago?

Is not the real reason, the one that underlies all other reasons that may be advanced with varying degrees of sincerity and truth, that that dread feeling known appropriately as "the fear of death" has gripped men everywhere? Only that horrible feeling of impending doom, finality, obliteration, **THE END** . . . the end not only of oneself but of everything one holds dear, everything that **MATTERS**—only that could produce the desperation that is so widespread and that is responsible for the growing antagonism toward those who refuse to aid and abet this "war for freedom". What has the pacifist to say to that compelling "argument"?

Apart from the many vulnerable points at which the pacifist could attack this attitude—and in particular he could point out that it is not only essentially the very same attitude as that which prevailed in 1914-18 and which has long been condemned by all, but that it is the very same in the particular respect that that too was a war "to make Europe (not only Spain) safe for democracy" and that all agree that it produced the very opposite—apart from such "minor" details, the pacifist's whole case rests on a **FAITH**. It does not need to be "religious" to give one the conviction, the feeling of absolute certainty that it is just those very things that really **MATTER** that **WILL** withstand every kind of onslaught. And since such a faith is obviously unnecessary when all is well, it is **just the thing that the world is needing NOW**.

But such a faith must not merely be a comforting thought that whatever troubles we may have to go through, even physical death, the spirit of peace, which is the only real thing, will somehow live on. It must be a **sustaining force enabling one to go on quietly but vigorously laying the foundations of a constructive peace and building up that peace on entirely new methods without being tempted by one's human sympathies to make the fatal mistake of supposing for an instant that the old methods can secure good ends.**

International Voluntary Service for Peace

by

EDWARD GOODMAN

WHAT can the ordinary person do for peace when the air of five continents is sickly with sound of marching feet and feverish preparation for war? When even by performing such an elementary habit as tea drinking he helps to pay for gunpowder.

He may decide to calm his conscience by speaking at a street corner or endeavouring to convert the nearest publican to his rational pacifism. But supposing his mind is not confused by the thousand and one issues of peace and power politics?

He will more than probably come to the conclusion that if oratory is to pacify the world it will take a very

THIS is the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

It was set up soon after the end of the War on the proposal of a German to reconstruct the devastated battlefields of Northern France. Its constitution describes its aim as being

to create a spirit of friendship and a constructive attitude toward peace among all peoples by giving practical help on the occasion of natural catastrophes or in the carrying out of work of public utility, thus providing people of good will—both men and women—with a sound system of training in mutual help, voluntary discipline, and comradeship.



long time, and at any rate it will not be his oratory.

The marching feet trample on . . . **Yet there is much he can do.** The whole problem is his to solve, and the millions like him.

All these grandiloquent schemes he would like to describe are useless unless he and the other ordinary men in other countries make real personal friendships with one another. And friendships, like all the good things in the world, are not accomplished without effort and hard work.

★

You do not appreciate that until you have been on a service . . .

YOU awake, say, at 6.20 and find that you have been sleeping next to (and very close to!) a Korean on one side, whose yellow face grins at you, and a Dane on the other, who still snores.

Your English insularity will make you creep and suggest to you that you have woken up in the middle of a film of bad taste. Necessity is a hard teacher.

You will have forgotten your towel

or tooth-brush, and a Czechoslovakian, looking like an affable unshaven monkey, will hail you by your Christian name and, appreciating your difficulty, volunteer to accommodate you with his.

You go to wash and see a Nazi or a German Jew holding the hose for one another to wash under!

If you still feel inhibited with fear and suspicions, **come and dig with them.**

In the disciplined rhythm of pick and shovel, helping a poor mining village clear away an ugly mound which thwarts its development, or clearing the debris from the fields of Indian peasants, you will work off your hatred and repressions and begin to realize that your courage and ideals can achieve a world loyalty by working in comradeship helping others.

IT is easy to see the effect of this work on those whom ostensibly you have come to help—the peasants and the poor labourer.

They do not understand words—or they have lost faith in them—but in action they still believe. In the homes of the Welsh miners or French Agricultural workers comes realization of what good will means.

They too make friends with Hal, Helmut, Georges, Percio, and Fred (who, in London, is Lord Something-or-other!), and they also find a world loyalty, and say perhaps with their children, "that German was a good man: why did English people kill his sons?"

An old German sergeant is one of the oldest volunteers. He wanted to avenge the death of his sons—and this is how he does it!

I am convinced that the International Voluntary Service for Peace offers the correct opportunity for working for peace. It provides what Dr. L. P. Jacks has called "a moral substitute for war".

Work—which can use to a good end a man's sense of responsibility to the society which benefits him, his physical energy, his longing for adventure, and his courage.

IT SEEMS TO ME

by Ampersand

To See Ourselves

"Gad, Sir! . . ."

WE are now quite familiar with that crushing argument: "British rearmament has been eagerly welcomed abroad." It is not discreet, however, to ask for sources.

Personally, in the course of wanderings in a dozen countries, I remember meeting that sentiment just once—from the doorman of a Canadian bank in New York.

But this "projection", as the psychologists call it, is increasingly popular. "Samoans prefer British Rule" runs a newspaper headline. Reading a bit further one finds that it is the British Minister of Lands who says they do.

A pity he should have to mention in the next breath "ordinances empowering banishment and restricting the free movement of individuals within the territory, and . . . declaring the home rule movement a seditious organization."

Possibly the Samoans do prefer British rule. But couldn't we ask a Samoan? And if our militarists would lower their voices for a moment we might hear some of that clapping they assure us is so loud.

AS "The Mikado" also excellently points out, the Japanese have a wonderful knack of taking Western arguments, carrying them to their logical conclusion, and then handing them back with the point made so clear that we just can't miss it.

The following gem sparkles from a statement of the Japanese case in an eminently serious review:

We once had to fight China, and then we had to fight Russia, at a great sacrifice of blood and treasure, for the preservation of the peace of East Asia. The peace of East Asia would not have been maintained . . . if Japan had not played the part of a watchdog.

Faith, there's only wan way of savin' yer loife, an' that's by shtranlin' yer dead.

Colonel Blimp had better retire!

How do you React?

A correspondent in "The Times" describes the psychological tests prospective officers go through in Hungary and Germany. Character is analysed by showing confused pictures of an air raid and asking the candidate

what he thinks has happened; by fixing the candidate's head, then subjecting him to unexpected orders and shocks while a film is taken of his facial expression; by noting his resourcefulness in building a bridge from lumber. Upon the temperament thus shown depends later training.

There are plenty of lessons here. If psychological training is necessary for an officer, who is doing something traditional, how much more for a pacifist, who is doing something new!

Self-observation, self-control, exercises in resourcefulness, above all regular periods of quiet and meditation are vital.

The first thing to reconstruct about the world is oneself.

A Voltairean

SOMEWHERE in Hampshire: I drew my car to the side of the road to watch the flight of bombers zoom Londonward.

Just over the hedge was a cottage garden and in it a quiet little man in a sun-browned panama, planting out lettuces. He was absorbed. The planes hurtled past deafeningly. He did not look up.

It didn't concern him. He was busy making something grow.

Trade in Arms

SIR M. HANKEY'S EVIDENCE

Did the Government Know?

THE evidence of Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary to the Cabinet, given on May 8 and 21 to the Royal Commission on the Private Trade in Arms, at his own request, has now been published in the official minutes of the Commission, which are obtainable from the Stationery Office. In a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" Professor Harold J. Laski draws attention to the following points.

On the former occasion Sir Maurice, who explained that he spoke only for himself, gave evidence "as an official drawing inferences from an important experience about which he had reflected profoundly". The evidence on the second occasion shows that

"Sir Maurice has only a limited acquaintance with the evidence the Commission itself has received;

"Some of his statements are definitely inaccurate;

"He is quite unversed (as he himself admits) in the character of the American inquiry . . . and its much ampler volume of material;

"He is acting, in his own words, as 'counsel' for the private munition-makers;

"He expresses his contempt for such activities as the peace ballot;

"He is quite unaware throughout of the immense and untested assumptions upon which his own case rests."

Declaring that it would "be difficult to find evidence more partial, more prejudiced, and more 'political' in complexion ever tendered by an eminent public servant to a Royal Commission," Mr. Laski asks: "Did the Government know the content of Sir Maurice's evidence before it was given?"

Abyssinia

ITALY'S "PACIFICATION" TASK

The situation of the Italians in Abyssinia is becoming more and more difficult.

Although no definite figures are available there is good reason to believe that the Italian losses in killed and wounded have been bigger since than before the fall of Addis Ababa. There is even now no organized Abyssinian resistance. The Abyssinians are waging a pure guerrilla.

The Italian victory in the Abyssinian war was achieved by the rapidity and efficiency with which roads and bridges were built. It was an engineering rather than a military feat.

But the Italian organization is not proving equal to the task of holding the country.

—Manchester Guardian, August 7.

LEAGUE'S AUTHORITY

That "the world can only free itself from its troubles by setting up a body with sufficient authority and suitable equipment for grappling with international problems and reaching satisfactory solutions" is the view of Mr. F. N. Keen, author of "A Better League of Nations", in a letter published in "The Times" of July 30.

Mr. Keen goes on to advise all those who want to end war, and to give the world security for justice and peace, to concentrate on the aim of making the League universal, and providing it with a constitution which will not paralyze action by requiring unanimity.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN BRIEF

CHINA

Fighting broke out in the region of Wuchow, in the south-west Province of Kwangsi, on August 6.

EGYPT

Delegates representing the Egyptian Government were expected to leave Alexandria for England on August 13 to take part in the concluding stages of the negotiations for a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

GERMANY

Extracts from a remarkable memorandum, in which the German Confessional clergy protest to Herr Hitler against, among other things, the concentration camps, the deification of the Führer, and the persecution of the Jews, were made public in the "Manchester Guardian" of August 5.

GREAT BRITAIN

An explosion in the Wharfedale Woodmoor Colliery, near Barnsley, on the night of August 6 caused the deaths of 57 miners, only one man being saved.

GREECE

The Prime Minister, General Metaxas, declared himself dictator on August 5, dissolved Parliament, and proclaimed martial law. No surprise is occasioned by the coup, since it was known that the Premier was only deterred from taking the step long ago by the King's refusal to agree. An alleged communist plot, based on the intention to organize a one-day general strike, enabled Metaxas to persuade the King to agree to the setting up of a dictatorship.

I.L.O.

Following the agreement between the National Union of Seamen and British shipowners on manning and on reducing hours of work of deck hands, the British Government, it was announced on August 8, will support the proposal for an international agreement on the same lines when the International Labour Organization meets specially to discuss maritime questions in October. Previously the Government has voted on the side of most other governments in opposition to reductions of hours.

NEW ZEALAND

The first budget presented by a Labour Government showed, on August 4, a slight increase in the "defence" Estimate but a large increase for pensions.

PALESTINE

A number of Arab leaders were invited on August 4, by the Emir Abdullah to go to Amman for a discussion of the situation in Palestine with a view to a peaceful settlement. It was reported, however, that on August 7 there was a further clash of Jews and Arabs in which 23 of the latter were killed.

TANGANYIKA

The Governor, Sir Harold MacMichael, said on August 5 that the British Government would be "insane" if it were to agree to transfer the mandate to any Power likely to establish military, naval, or air bases in the territory.

TRADE

An agreement between Germany and Lithuania signed in Berlin on August 5 is the first sign that the tension between the two States is eased. It allows subjects of both nations freely to cross the frontier, which has been virtually closed, and it is expected that the example will enable Germany and Poland to get on a more friendly footing, and the frontier between Poland and Lithuania to be reopened.

Great Britain gave the statutory three months' notice, on August 7, to terminate the Anglo-Argentine agreement as a result of which British exports to Argentina have increased by 50% in the three years of its operation, while imports from that country have decreased. The cotton piece goods industry of Lancashire has benefited most, but has lately had to face growing Japanese competition, which it can only do successfully, it is declared, if a new agreement is reached.

UNITED STATES

"The people of the United States are united, fixed and resolute in their determination to avoid any form of commitment anywhere which would tend to draw the United States into war," said the American Ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. Robert Bingham, speaking to members of the English-Speaking Union on August 7. Though the English-speaking nations needed to cultivate a "friendly understanding", there was no kind of political alliance possible between the United States and Great Britain.

WAR TO THE — BIRTH!

Soviet Union Joins the Race for More Children

A COMMON feature of the fascist State which does everything to militarize its population is the encouragement of large families in order to produce more fighters. For other reasons, this generally has the support of the Church, especially the Catholics.

Now Soviet Russia, hated by no one more than by the Roman Catholic Church—if only for the attitude toward problems of sex, and in particular abortion, which socialist idolizers of the U.S.S.R. have acclaimed as enlightened—has joined in the war to the birth!

"REBIRTH OF THE FAMILY"

A new law, declared after public discussion of its draft had been "guillotined", abolishes the legality of abortion, the Government claiming that improved standards of life now enable women to have more children. This was welcomed by the communist paper, "Deutsche Volkszeitung" (published in Prague) as the "historical rebirth of the family". The same paper went on to suggest that

henceforth "clerical attacks on the U.S.S.R. have lost their justification", and "the tasks of the popular front, for the solution of which we want to see the Christian workers in particular on our side," will be thereby made easier.

Commenting on this in the August "Socialist Vanguard", Mary Saran writes:

"Are these the true motives behind the law? If so, it would mean that for the sake of a temporary alliance mainly with Catholics, who are fundamentally enemies of socialist progress, achievements in the U.S.S.R. are to be sacrificed.

"Is a policy aiming at a more rapid increase in the population not justified on grounds of national defence? Many communists are advancing this reason.

OTHER SOURCES OF STRENGTH

"But surely a socialist State has other sources of strength than a fascist one. A socialist government is not concerned with compulsorily increasing a population so that by its physical force it can conquer other peoples and colonize other countries. The defence of the U.S.S.R. against fascist and capitalist attacks depends not so much upon a large increase of its people (and let us not forget that there is already an annual increase of from three to four millions).

"Rather does it depend ultimately upon the strength of the working-class movements throughout the world and on the confidence inside and outside the U.S.S.R. that here is socialist progress worth defending."

FOREIGN POLICY OF POLAND

The Belgium of East Europe

AS Belgium lies between rival France and Germany, so Poland lies between the rivals, Germany and Russia, and much of her foreign policy is based on that fact.

The latest move in connexion with this policy is the invitation from the Polish Commander-in-Chief (General Rydz-Smigly) to France's Chief of the General Staff (General Gamelin) to spend five days in Poland from August 12. Moreover, the Polish General is to attend the French military manoeuvres in the autumn.

These moves are regarded in diplomatic circles as indicating that General Rydz-Smigly, already virtually Dictator of Poland, is controlling also that country's foreign policy.

As regards Poland's other main preoccupation, Danzig, there has lately been a change in policy there. Because she is supposed legally to be responsible for the foreign affairs of the "Free" City, Poland has previously treated with the authorities there direct. Now she goes to Berlin to discuss the affairs of Danzig.

The reason, according to the "Manchester Guardian's" Warsaw correspondent, is that everyone in Poland now realizes that Herr Grieser, President of the Danzig Senate, simply "dances to the tune of Berlin". It is argued that

if Hitler could guarantee peace in the Polish Corridor, he could guarantee it also in Danzig.

COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

"Sisters" Preferred to the Whole Family!

Mr. S. M. Bruce, High Commissioner for Australia, speaking at the Royal Empire Society's Summer School at Bristol, said:—

"We hoped that strength was going to come from the League of Nations if the necessity should ever arise. Recent experience has shown that we cannot rely upon that.

"We have the advantage that we can call for assistance upon our sister nations inside the British Empire.

"While I am no cynic, while I believe that we shall eventually be able to build up a system of world peace, if I were asked whether I would rather look to the League of Nations than to our sister nations, I would unhesitatingly give my vote for the latter."

NOT SPORT

On the ground that it is "unfair to the animals", General Göring, who is (among other things!) Reich Master of the Hunt, announced on August 3 that "the hunting of all animals with horse and hounds" was to be forbidden.

THE LINGUISTS' CLUB

84 KINGSWAY, W.C.2.

Holborn 8065.

FOR DAILY CONVERSATIONS
AND TUITION IN FOREIGN
LANGUAGES



Arthur Wragg on . . .

. . . The Problem of Peace

Introducing the

International Correspondence for Peace

Known as the I.C.P., this organization seeks, by means of correspondence between its members, to establish a world-wide community based on comradeship, cooperation, and good will, and to develop in its members an active interest in international problems, urging them meanwhile to strive for the achievement of some solution other than that of war.

This it does by means of

1. Correspondence between members for the development of friendly relations and exchange of opinions.
2. Exchange of visits.
3. Acquiring the knowledge of foreign languages.

All official posts with the I.C.P. are honorary. The subscription has been fixed in order to bring membership within reach of all.

I.C.P. members embrace every opportunity of rendering assistance to visitors from other countries, offering hospitality when convenient, and by doing all in their power at all times to promote international friendship contributing thereby to world brotherhood and the consequent abolition of war.

The general secretary is Mr. Leonard Holmes, of 30, Scarisbrick New Road, Southport.

Esperanto

GROWTH IN HALF A CENTURY

These are some of the steps in the development of Esperanto as an international language.

1887. Presented to the world by Dr. Louis Zamenhof, of Warsaw.

1922. League of Nations accepted 57-page report in favour of Esperanto as an international auxiliary language. Report subsequently shelved.

1924. Fifth Assembly of the League recognized Esperanto as suitable for telegraphic communications.

Today. Users believed to number a million and a half. About 2,000 "Honorary Consuls" placed all over the world to bring Esperantists into contact. Important bodies recommending Esperanto include British Association.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BRIEF REVIEWS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

A PLACE IN THE SUN. Grover Clark. Macmillan. 10s. 6d.

The author of *The Great Wall Crumbles* here attempts to discover, from an examination of the actual records, whether colonies are a profitable possession. The opinion he forms is that they most decidedly are not.

His book is popular and non-technical in character, but he takes the greatest care to ensure the strictest accuracy. He gives most of his attention to the records of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, and in conclusion, makes some concrete suggestions for removing the menace to world peace that arises from the possession of colonies.

TOWARD A NEW MANNER OF LIVING. Dr. Howard E. Collier. Allen & Unwin. 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

Though the modern world is only beginning to see that radical changes in personal-social ways of living are necessary and imminent, from its earliest days the Society of Friends has proclaimed that if the Christian principle of life were followed to its logical and practical conclusions, a new manner of living our personal-social lives would result. It has affirmed that in the life of Christian friendship a practical, realistic solution can be found for all of our personal, national, and international discords.

In this essay, which is the 1936 Swarthmore Lecture of the Society of Friends, a preliminary attempt is made to display in modern language the nature of "the manner of living" which should be expected to arise from Christian friendship. An attempt is made to indicate that that manner of life is rationally coherent, and finally to emphasize some of the essential factors in the absence of which that manner of life cannot be lived.

LABOUR AND WAR RESISTANCE. "Covenanter". New Fabian Research Bureau. Gollancz. 6d.

The Labour Party's policy of collective security through the League of Nations is set out in this pamphlet. There is also a proposal for a measure to carry out this policy.

TOWARD A NEW LEAGUE. H. N. Brailsford. "New Statesman". 6d.

A new grouping of nations is the idea explained in this pamphlet. After glancing rapidly, yet not superficially, at the last sixteen years of the world's history, Brailsford draws the conclusion that only an economic and political alliance between Soviet Russia, France, Spain, the Scandinavian lands, Czechoslovakia minus her three million Germans, and Great Britain turned socialist can offer any hope of peace. "We who confess to a common social faith," he declares, can therefore "attempt the first decisive steps towards a federal system of peace".

THE DANZIG CRISIS. Union of Democratic Control. 3d.

The extent of the troubles in Danzig, indications of the part played by Germany, and the methods by which the non-Nazi inhabitants are being suppressed are described in this pamphlet. Among other things it shows how Nazi "martyrs" are "manufactured" for propaganda purposes.

The Drama

PLAYS FOR PACIFIST PROPAGANDA

The following plays are recommended for acting by Schools and Groups:—

THE TWO PILGRIMS. Leo Tolstoy. National Adult School Union. 2d.

WHERE LOVE IS, GOD IS. Leo Tolstoy. Ditto. 6d.

FIERCE FEATHERS. L. V. Hodgkin. Friends' Peace Committee. 6d.

BRINGING IT HOME TO MR. CHIBLEY. Herbert Bloye. Ditto.

BANISH THE BOGIE. Mary Pendered. L.N.U. Barclay Bank Chambers, Northampton.

THE PACIFIST. Olive Popplewell. 1s.

FAST BOUND. Margaret Cropper. 6d.

Full details can be obtained from the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

FACTS, FIGURES, & QUOTATIONS

TWO MINDS ON BUT A SINGLE DAY

I tell the House that I have been made almost physically sick to think that I and my friends, and statesmen in every country of Europe, 2,000 years after our Lord was crucified, should be spending our time thinking how we can get the mangled bodies of children to hospital and how we can keep the poison gas from going down the throats of the people . . . I believe that an opportunity may be open even now at the eleventh hour . . . when we may within a time measurable in our lives see banished from the world the most fearful terror and prostitution of man's knowledge that has ever been known in the world.

Mr. Baldwin,
House of Commons,
May 22, 1935.

I kept impressing upon my colleagues and upon the country generally the vital nature and place of the Royal Air Force in the scheme of our defences. I had the utmost difficulty at that time (1932), amid the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane even on the frontiers of the Middle East and India.

Lord Londonderry,
House of Lords,
May 22, 1935.

EMPIRES AND MINERALS

The British Empire controls 94.3 per cent of the world's nickel production; according to the "Economist".

Other minerals of which the British Empire holds more than 30 per cent

YOUTH PEACE COUNCILS

Continuing our directory of federating youth organizations the following list covers

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT (Sec. Mr. J. Cohen, 68, Devonshire Street, Higher Broughton, Salford, 7)

ECCLES. Miss S. Penn, Cartref, Brackley Road.

HYDE AND DISTRICT. Mr. C. Orford, 1 Kingston Gardens, Hyde, near Manchester.

INTERNATIONAL. H. Phillips, 23 Marford Crescent, Sale, near Manchester.

SALE AND DISTRICT. F. Jones, Merryholme, Stokesay Road.

SOUTH MANCHESTER DISTRICT. Miss M. Roberts, 138 Darley Avenue, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.

STUDENTS'. J. S. Forrest, 5 Gibsons Road, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

of supplies are: gold, manganese ore, chrome ore, zinc, lead, and tin ore.

The following figures show the "strong suits" of other empires and of the U.S.S.R.

French Empire: Iron ore, 29 per cent, Bauxite (the principal ore of aluminium), 46.5 per cent, Potash, 19.8 per cent.

Dutch Empire: Tin ore, 16.4 per cent.

U.S.A. and dependencies: Petroleum, 59.8 per cent, Iron ore, 22.1 per cent, Copper, 16.8 per cent, Lead, 21.2 per cent, Zinc, 29.8 per cent.

U.S.S.R.: Iron ore, 18.8 per cent, Chrome ore, 27.5 per cent, Manganese ore, 59.3 per cent.

VALUE FOR MONEY?

The two battleships to be built next year will cost £6,000,000 each; it has been estimated that the cost of one battleship would buy

50 hospitals; and
50 miles of arterial roads; and
100 miles of country roads; and
100 recreation grounds, and
100 schools; and
1,000 furnished houses; AND
give a year's employment to at least 20,000 men.

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A SINGLE

I have been sick to think and statesmen of 2,000 years should be ag how we can of children to can keep the own the throats believe that an even now at when we may e in our lives world the most ution of man's r been known

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Londonderry, e of Lords, 22, 1935.

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CREDO

Points in a Pacifist's Faith

THE following seven points are given by Miss Ruth Fry as the Christian Pacifist's "articles of faith" in "Pacifist's A.B.C."

1. That war in every form is contrary to Christ's teachings. We must choose between Christ and war.
2. That peace can never be attained by preparing for, or engaging in, war, or by the possession of armaments.
3. That peace is a practical, positive policy, which must be attained by friendly co-operation between the nations, putting the good of all, before the selfish interests of each.
4. That because the soul of man is the temple of God, because the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God are facts, it cannot be right to torture, to maim, or to KILL our fellow-men.
5. That if we desire to be followers of him, who said, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you," it cannot be right to

REASONS AGAINST WAR

Mars is a poor manager. To protect five billions, he spends fifty, and causes a depression costing a hundred billions more. In "a war to end war" he sows the seeds for ten more wars.

War is the foe of democracy. To make the world safe for democracy, war enthroned military necessity—and set the stage for three vast dictatorships.

War takes first the bravest, truest, fittest; robs the land of youth; cheats youth of his one chance at life.

War breaks all the commandments; Moses's ten and Jesus's two.

Peace-making is positive, constructive. War-making is negative, destructive, its abolition leaves no vacuum.

(Claud D. Nelson, in "Reconciliation")

spend our money, our labour, and our brains, in devising means to injure our fellow-men.

6. That if we believe that "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them", we cannot prepare arms, whose only purpose is to destroy and harm.
7. That pacifism must begin in our own lives; that we must not be quarrelsome or selfish, but always patient and long-suffering, forgiving "till seventy times seven."

Ex-Service Men

THOUSANDS FOR PEACE

The following figures show the membership of the organizations of French ex-Service men which have endorsed the Peoples Mandate.

Anciens Combattants Pacifistes 25,000
Fédération des Associations d'Anciens Combattants Républicains, 17,000
Aide et Protection 15,000
Union Nationale de Mutilés, Réformés et Anciens Combattants 100,000
Les Poilus d'Orient, Fédération Nationale des Association et Groupements des Anciens Combattants d'Orient 50,000
Union Fédérale des Anciens Combattants et Veuves de guerre 1,000,000
Fédération Ouvrière et Paysanne 80,000
Officiers de réserve républicains 10,000
Total 1,297,000.

A LEAGUE WITHOUT FORCE

REFORMS THAT WOULD STRENGTHEN IT

SPEAKING in the House of Lords recently, Lord Ponsonby said: "The people to whom I may refer as the pundits of the League of Nations adhere to the sacrosanctity of the Covenant as it stands, and are, in the words of Mrs. Swanwick, was a Government delegate to the League in 1924, invariably apt to make a very dangerous simplification of what is in reality very complex. On paper and theoretically sanctions, whether economic or military, would seem not only to be formidable but indisputably effective."

But Lord Ponsonby then "wasted a little time over the International Army and the International Air Police Force", and what he called the "quota principle" laid down in the Covenant itself "to show that this question of force is never faced in a really military, naval, or air-minded manner, and in such a way as really to equip with tactics and strategy the particular forces that are to be brought into being."

"There is not a shred of argument that can be brought forward in favour of the use of force by the League of Nations," he added. "Experience, principle, expediency, and morality are all emphatically against it." Expressing his objection to "the false analogy which is always trotted out of the policeman and the criminal", he pointed out that

"crime in this country has not decreased as it has because of strengthening the police force but because of the gradual spread of education and enlightenment."

"If you spend your millions on general reconstruction, on the improvement of conditions, and on education, that is national defence against war."

"I am a believer in the round table," went on Lord Ponsonby. "I am quite



Courtesy, Daily Herald

sure that the exchange of ideas is far more profitable than the exchange of shot and shell, and persuasion is a far more powerful weapon in the long run than any bombardment.

"I want to see the League strengthened, and I think this is the first thing we have got to do in strengthening it."

"I believe that building up the constructive efforts of the League is of infinitely greater value than attempts to check and punish evil." Without going into the various suggestions for specific reforms, Lord Ponsonby considered as important

1. "Providing economic advantages to States members of the League... so that defection from the League or the breaking of the Covenant in any way may so damage the national economy that there would be an inducement to nations to come into the League and retain their membership."
2. "Revision of treaties automatically."

"Making these criticisms of the League does not turn one into an isolationist," Lord Ponsonby emphasized.

Must Germany have Colonies?

GERMAN SAYS "YES": BRITISH ECONOMIST, "NOT YET"

THE following opinions on the German colonial problem, given by a journalist representing German papers in London and by a well-known British economist respectively at the Liberal Summer School at Oxford, have been taken from the "Manchester Guardian" report of August 5.

DR. KARL VON ABSHAGEN

Germany would never admit that the resignation to which she was forced by the menace of continued starvation of her women and children gave the Allies a right to the possession of her colonies.

The only natural solution would be the restitution of the colonies to Germany. If the mandatory Powers could see their way to such a solution without haggling and bargaining, of which they were sick in post-war years, it would do more for the re-establishment of really cordial relationships among the great nations of Europe than could be done by any other single act.

Primarily the problem was one of foreign exchange. The small, the precarious surplus of foreign exchange at the disposal of Germany could be greatly strengthened by German colonial activity under her own flag.

There was ample proof that Germany was as willing and able to do her best in the interests of native populations as any other European nation.

There was the fact that seventeen years after the war there was a stream of petitions and questions from the natives of former German colonies asking when Germany was going to resume control.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER

He greatly regretted that Germany was not given any mandate in the times of the Weimar Republic.

"But that which is good for prevention is not always good for cure, and in the temper and outlook now abroad in Germany it does not follow that you can redress grievances by concession. The political concessions that are of untold value are concessions that are not made under the menace of force."

"We cannot dissociate from the problem the present racial doctrine and the measures with which that doctrine is given effect."

"Nevertheless, when—and I trust it will not be such a very long time—Germany is again part of the world community, collaborating as other countries have collaborated, I trust she will again take her part in the problems of colonial government in the world—a part worthy of the great qualities she has shown in the past."

He advocated complete equality for all countries in the matter of purchasing raw materials from colonies, and would also like to see steps take as far as possible in the direction of making the colonial system an international administration.

As it Might Be—2

NEW POLICY FOR DEFENCE

THE Prime Minister (Member for Peacehaven) said: "I am happy to be able to inform the House that the Government are now in the position to submit the new defence proposals."

"We recognize that there can be no lasting peace which is not based on justice and equity. The best form of defence lies not in the rearmament programme at one time contemplated but in a new attempt to meet the just needs of all nations."

"We accept the responsibility of taking the lead in this matter, and, as a first step, we are inviting representatives of all other nations to sit with us on equal terms around a new conference table at which we intend to establish the true facts from which spring the grievances felt by other nations."

"If such grievances are to be met this nation must show itself as ready to give as it has been to get."

"His Majesty's Government, in the belief that the day for the private ownership of colonial possessions is over, intend to press for such a reform of the League of Nations as will make possible the holding of such territory only under international authority and control."

READY FOR DISARMAMENT

"We are ready here and now to abandon our old doctrines of political and economic nationalism. And with the abandonment of such claims the need for rearmament disappears."

"The Government therefore intend to present to this House a detailed scheme for an immediate and steadily increasing reduction in our armaments, and to pledge themselves as from today to restrict the use of aircraft, so far as this country is concerned, to commercial purposes."

"Our conception of what is morally right and in the best interests of peace will not change because others do not share our view."

"One result of the Government's new peace plan will be the immediate release of a large sum of money previously earmarked for armaments. I do not promise any remission of taxation. Peace may be as costly as war. But the House will not doubt that those schemes [which he outlined] for social betterment too long postponed will absorb all the energy and money then set free."

"Our security will be real because we shall no longer jeopardize the security of any other."

★(This is the second of a series of extracts from imaginary speeches in "the House" published in "The Friend". It is by Canon S. D. Morris, secretary of the Church of England Clergy Pacifist Group.)

PACIFIST PAMPHLETS

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The above can be obtained from the author, A. Ruth Fry, Thorpeness, Suffolk.

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FORTHCOMING
MEETINGS

August.

- 16-27. Geneva Institute of International Relations; subject, "The Future of the Collective System."
17. 7 p.m. Tang Hall, Fourth Avenue, York; open-air meeting arranged by Northern Friends' Peace Board.
- 8 p.m. Sampson's Square, York; Northern Friends' Peace Board.
- 17-23. Peace Week organized by Shoreditch Peace Council.
18. 7.30 p.m. Town Green, West Auckland; meeting arranged by Northern Friends' Peace Board.
19. 7.30 p.m. Spennymoor (see advertisement on page 2).
- 8 p.m. Church Hall, Stewartvale Street, Glasgow. Peace meeting under auspices of League of Youth to consider forming League of Youth section in Glasgow western area.
20. 7.30 p.m. Dipton. (see advertisement on page 2.)
21. 7.30 p.m. Blooms Ground, Annfield Plain. (see advertisement on page 2.)
22. 7.30 p.m. Brough, Westmorland. (see advertisement on page 2.)
- 22 & 23. The Institute, 230 Renfrew Street, Glasgow; Assembly and conference organized by the Scottish Youth Peace Assembly.
27. Young Scots Institute, Burgh Hall Street, Glasgow. Conference convened by Glasgow Western Anti-War Council to consider revised Constitution. All trade union branches, Guilds, Churches, Clubs, etc., invited.
28. 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Isleworth; meeting of Hounslow, Isleworth, Brentford and Twickenham districts, Peace Pledge Union.
- 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Stoke Newington; meeting of Stoke Newington team, Peace Pledge Union, to be addressed by Canon S. D. Morris.
- 31-September 7. Geneva; World Youth Congress under the auspices of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; particulars from Youth Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London S.W.1

September.

- 3-6. Brussels; World Peace Congress; organized by Rassemblement Universel pour le Paix; English committee, International Peace Campaign, c/o, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, 27 Chester Terrace, London S.W.1.
6. 3 p.m. Rooker Park, Erdington, Birmingham; open-air demonstration.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Plans of the International Peace
Campaign

Opportunity to do Something Now

Dear Sir,—I found the numbers of PEACE NEWS extremely interesting, and fully agree that everybody should contribute their utmost to the peace movement in England today. For my part I feel very strongly that the efforts of the League of Nations Union, the peace councils, the women's organizations, and a number of trade unions, which are combined in the International Peace Campaign begun on the initiative of Viscount Cecil and Monsieur Pierre Cot, Air Minister of France, can be of tremendous effect in the period to come.

During the last war, it seemed to many of us sufficient to refuse to take part in bloodshed, and a movement of conscientious objectors was to be found in many countries of the world. Today, however, we have to realize that it is not enough for us to declare that we shall not fight when war breaks out. War has broken out already, and we have not even been asked to fight; so how can we demonstrate our refusal to shed blood?

The position in Spain today might not have concerned us so much had Spain been allowed to carry on her civil war without outside interference. But the fascist countries, Germany and Italy, are sending war materials, aeroplanes, and so on to the fascist rebels, fighting to crush a democratically elected popular front government.

This is one reason why I am sure that the International Peace Campaign, and the World Peace Congress it is organizing in Brussels from September 3 to 6, has a fine and tremendous piece of work before it. It intends to work out ways and means on an international scale of preventing wars, of stopping future wars.

It intends to draw up plans for strong simultaneous action by the peoples of several countries, every time that a breach of the peace takes place in any country, or is threatened in any part of the world.

Its chief aim, with the help of delegates from at least 37 countries of the world, including America, England, Canada, France, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Australia, South Africa, and so on, is to find a formula which will make the governments of the world carry out the fundamental principles of the League of Nations which, as yet, have never been fully operated.

Already delegates have been elected from most of these countries. And we in England cannot wait until war

affects England in order to prove that we are against war by refusing to fight. That is not enough.

We must organize for peace today, and the International Peace Campaign offers all lovers of peace, regardless of racial differences, party politics, or religious beliefs, an opportunity of doing something today to help to stop wars today and prevent future wars.

VIOLET LANSBURY.

39 Bow Road,
London E.3.

THE LOGIC OF PACIFISM

Opposite of War

Dear Sir,—The most logical approach to pacifism is not, as many people imagine, to view it in the light of international affairs today. The question of whether war will end war is one that should be isolated from world chaos and thought over calmly before the solution is applied to a specific situation.

There is, in life, a law of opposites that has operated, and will operate, for all time.

We shatter stillness with noise, and noise ceases only when we are still.

We destroy fire with water and water with fire.

Bitterness changes through sweetness.

And famine is destroyed only with plenteousness.

Surely but one task remains if we are to find the answer. The opposite of war is—peace.

DEREK NEVILLE.

6 Braxted Park,
Streatham, London S.W.

DOGS OF WAR

"Breaking Faith" with
Animals

Dear Sir,—Lieut.-Col. Richardson concludes his "Dog Memoirs" in a national newspaper thus:—

Straight as an arrow he sped, with only his wonderful instinct to guide him. Whizz!

With a sickening thud a piece of jagged iron ripped the muscles of his lower jaw. Yet another missile found its mark, tearing the fur from shoulder to haunch. Still another reached its billet, and a forepaw hung in shreds.

Back at headquarters Keeper Spellman waited. Then, faintly above the distant thunder, his sharp ears detected a piteous whine.

FILL IN
THIS FORM NOW

A moment later by the light of his torch Spellman beheld a thing that had once been a grand dog, slowly, painfully dragging along, almost on its stomach.

If ever there was a dirty business, this is it. Anyone with an ounce of feeling who has kept even the scrag-

(continued at foot of column 4)

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MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m., at 165 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

WHERE TO STAY

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(continued from column 3)

giest mongrel and seen the appealing and almost human expressions could never send such a faithful, trusting creature to agonizing and certain death.

Patriotism is no excuse for breaking faith with a trusting animal. Justice, or even common sense, could never furnish a concrete argument against that.

The article goes on: "There is much light and some shadow, but always gratitude that I was privileged to know such friends as Airedale Jack . . . friends who never betrayed, but repaid with affection and steadfast fidelity all I was ever able to do for them."

Words fail me—which is just as well . . .

WILLIAM S. SHIPP.

16 Montagu Street,
London, W.1.

Printed for the "Peace News" Group, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11, by A. Graves, 8/10 Stanhope Street, London, N.W.1.

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